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TABLE 31. Time Spent in Production of Corn in Plow Culture on Sample Plot, 1944.

Operation	Plot of Ten *Cuerdillos*		
	No. of Workers	No. of Days Worked	No. of Man-Days
Clearing of land (*limpia*)	1	3.0	3.0
Plowing (*barbecho*)	1	5.0	5.0
Plowing (*surcado*)	1	1.4	1.4
Seeding (*siembra*)	2	1.4	1.4
First cultivation (*primer manu*)	2	3.0	6.0
Second cultivation (*segundo manu*)	2	2.0	4.0
Third cultivation and hilling (*cajón o despoale*)	2	1.0	2.0
Weeding (*zoloda*)	1	2.0	2.0
Stripping cornstalks (*zacatee*)	1	6.0	6.0
Tying leaves in bundles (*jontado*)	1	1.0	1.0
Transport leaves (*zacatee*)	1	3.0	3.0
Corn picking (*pizca*)	1	5.0	5.0
Corn transport (*acarreo mazorca*)	1	3.0	3.0
Corn shelling (*desgranado*)	1	5.0	5.0
Total			47.8

The question of estimating costs of production is difficult because Tepoztecans, like most Mexican peasants, do not keep accounts of their expenses, and more important, do not estimate their own labor in terms of its monetary value. They are, however, quite familiar with the value of a day's work in money, since they all hire labor at one time or another, or themselves work for a wage. Tepoztecan farmers are also apt to speak of "time lost" when they are called upon to serve on village guard duty, or if they have to go to court over some legal matter.

Despite the fact that labor time is not so evaluated locally, we have assigned money value to the labor of the farmer-operator to arrive at some notion of relative production costs. In estimating total production costs we have considered the prevailing daily wage of hired labor and the cost of hiring oxen as the two most important items of cost. Our estimates, although approximations, illustrate the wide range in production costs for a single hectare of corn, and the relative cost of each operation. Variations in production costs are due to such factors as differences in

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twice a year the Acción invites members from other villages and provides them with a banquet and special religious services.

From the point of view of its effects upon the social structure and levels of living, recent trends in entertainment have tended to make for greater differences among the various economic groups. The new forms of diversion invariably involve an expenditure of money for dues, equipment, bus fare, shoes, clothing, and appropriate food. Thus, the very poor cannot join organizations like the sports club or Acción Católica, or go to Cuernavaca or to the movies, or celebrate birthdays with invited guests. The diversions which they can most easily afford are the fiestas and fairs and they rarely partake of others. It is the middle and upper economic groups which participate most actively in the newer type of diversions.

FAMILY BUDGETS

Having considered several separate aspects of levels of living in Tepoztlán we can now turn to a comparison and analysis of a few specific family budgets as a whole.[16] How much do families actually spend on food, clothing, health, recreation, and religious activities? How does a poor family compare with a rich family on the various items? What proportion of the expenditures are for subsistence, self-improvement, or economic investment?

We have estimated the approximate annual expenditures of seven families on each of the following items: food; basic household necessities; house upkeep, repair, and tax; clothing; education; health; religion and fiestas; diversion; investments; and miscellaneous. We will present again the two families for which we have already considered food expenditures.[17] It will be recalled that Family I is in the upper economic group and is made up of the parents and two adult children. Family II is one of the poorest families in the village and includes the parents and seven children. Table 52 presents a summary of the annual expenditures of each family.

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[16] The study of family budgets in a community like Tepoztlán is beset with many difficulties. Illiteracy is high and most Tepoztecan families are not in the habit of keeping accounts of expenditures or income. In addition, there are attitudes of reserve and even suspicion concerning this type of investigation, so that intensive budget studies can be done only where rapport is excellent. Also, as we have seen earlier, there is much seasonal variation in diet and expenditures, and the prices of many items vary a great deal during the year, so that many adjustments have to be made in arriving at an accurate annual budget. To study income and expenditure for a few weeks and then assume a weekly average and multiply by 52 would not yield accurate results in the case of Tepoztlán. Ideally the investigator should live with a family for at least a year and keep a daily account of income and expenditures for the family. In practice this is not always feasible. It seriously limits the range of data that the anthropologist can get and is very time consuming; only a few families could be studied in this manner by a single investigator. In getting the budgets presented here, a combination of the intensive and extensive approaches was used. Detailed schedules were drawn up, and daily records were kept for a few families for periods ranging from two to eight weeks. In addition, budgets were reconstructed for the preceding year by questioning of family members. In general the data on expenditures were much more satisfactory than those on incomes. Also, we found repeatedly that income was below expenditures, a common phenomenon in budget studies of low income families in rural areas in the United States.

[17] See "Diet," p. 187.